/51 cont'd/
585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[769] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/52 cont'd/

765 for one day, two, three, or five days. What I observed was a two-day service which actually lasted two days and two nights.

[713] The tso-chai service was conducted by Taoist priests. On the occasion which I observed, they invited more than ten Taoist priests of two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The two groups paid honor to different gods, chanted different liturgies, and performed different rituals. (See the following chapter.) The tso-chai service was so complicated that it can hardly be described in detail. Therefore, I shall only describe it in a general way. The tso-chai ceremony formally began on the night of the first day of the service. The Taoist priests of the two groups hung up portraits of their respective gods. At the same time they chanted liturgies and leaped before the gods until midnight. Next morning they performed the chao-hun /"spirit calling"/ service. It was in general as follows: A wooden platform was erected in an open space outside the house. The two groups of chanting Taoist priests holding pennants in their hands ascended the platform in turn. Facing the sky, they called the spirit of the dead man to come back.

765 796 That afternoon a Taoist initiation ceremony was held. Since it was not directly included in the tso-chai service, we will discuss it in the following chapter. On the morning and afternoon of the third day the chanting of liturgies and the dancing continued, but the details were entirely different from that of the day before. The tso-chai ended near evening in a humorous act, "Devil Dance." The dance was performed as follows: A priest was dressed up as a devil wearing a dreadful-looking mask and hid behind the curtain. Two boys dressed as girls drew the devil out from behind the curtain. After seeing the "girls" the devil then became sexually excited, and holding a male sexual organ two to three feet /ch'ih/ long (made of straw), he began dancing while chasing the two "girls." The show was so indecent that it made a person feel ashamed to watch it. In the morning of the fourth day, the hosts entertained the priests with wine. Guests and hosts sang alternately while drinking, and that brought the tso-chai to an end.

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 171 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 527 [782] 4. Festivals and Sports

On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/87 cont'd/
another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony. When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

/133 cont'd/
dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

/134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had a good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

/134 cont'd/
764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second month, twenty-seventh day. (Saturday)

The program for the tso-chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call back the soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 793 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [779] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

/135 cont'd/

554 793 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

●765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 527 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she may remarry at any time, except that she must have the approval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow, for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage [177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old [113] funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan (1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man [787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family 765 slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink. 769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their 782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to custom. This is done every year for three years and no more. They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year. 765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the 764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer [113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them. Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three 765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb, 782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being wined and dined. In the second month of the following year, 769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women [782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[556] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[752] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when
782 a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[752] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave
[372] pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[177] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family. If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

●765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 756 [782] [787] After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the members of the family think that the deceased has come back, and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch

765 [782] [177] [604] [768] they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart, ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount received depends upon the financial condition of the host family.

766 756 [569] From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs. The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees "heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below, start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family members may begin to cry and weep.

/103 cont./

766 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight,
756 or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the
[775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

●765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a
[292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he
[302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does
[302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

/149 cont./

*782 out to trade, when he goes east may there be profit and when he goes west may there be profits, with profits from every direction. Thus may the host be completely protected. Again, I invoke protection for these helpers here. Without them these sacrifices to the kuei could not be made. The helpers must be here to enact them. When you have canes do not strike people, when you have ropes do not tie up people. Protect the sorcerer-priest! If I did not perform the ritual here, you would not be able to come here to enjoy /these things/. If my words are not correct, I ask your forgiveness. Pray rid me of disasters and calamities so that when I meet water I may not get wet, when I meet fire I may not get burned. Now, everything has been said."

[292] /150/ At this point the Miao sorcerer wraps a long strip of white cloth around his head with one end trailing on the ground, and continues his incantation:

• [765] "The mourning kerchief that I wear is not mourning for my father and mother, not for my maternal uncle /niang chiu/ nor his daughters /tzu-mei, "sisters"/, not for my relatives through marriage, and not for the elders of the village, but for the host. My wearing this mourning does away with all his calamities. The sorcer-priest having worn this mourning, the host's family, men and women, big and small, will not die; moreover there will be no more calamities."

After reciting the above passage he again rings the bell and at the same time continues his incantation:

"Helpers, please raise your knives and chop off the kan lo poles and throw them out into the outer area. I shall collect the paper money, and I want you to burn it. Before burning, it is paper; after burning, it is money. He who gets much shares much; he who gets little shares little.

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(12) Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering

When there is a death in the family, for the deceased they perform Releasing the Soul from Suffering and Begging Pardon, which in Miao is called [ts⁴⁴ mi⁴⁴], with the meaning "to cause a person to be released." There are two kuei sacrificed to: [li⁵⁵ to⁵⁵ kuei⁴⁴ dza³⁴] and [li⁵⁵ ɕi⁴⁴ kuei⁴⁴ da⁴⁴]. The time for the performance is in the evening after supper, and the place in the right corner inside the door in the main house. A bamboo stick about 90 cm. long is used. Every 30 cm. one side of the bamboo is cut off to allow it to be bent into a frame, the two ends of which are stuck into the earth. In front of the bamboo frame is put a rectangular wooden board, on which is spread a piece of white cloth. Five empty bowls are put on the cloth, but before the board are set up five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice arranged in three rows. A bowl of wax is placed behind the board, near which is a handleless spade (Illus. 66). The Miao sorcerer sits behind the bamboo frame, holding a piece of bamboo in his right hand and beating the frame as he utters an incantation in time with the beating to the following effect:

> "After the kuei have led away the dead man, the host will return to having peace. The kuei have come with a steelyard to weigh a human being and take him away. Why /Illus. 66 appears here/ /155/ do you not weigh a pig or a dog, a large cow, a chicken or a duck, instead of weighing a human being? The dead person was in the --- generation (either senior or junior generation) with reference to the host. When a man is dead, he cannot be called back. After death he becomes a kuei. Among men he still has good sons and good grandsons. Today, we have selected a lucky day to make inquiries. At the inquiry tonight you must come to the fire pit. Sorcerers are very few in the world, and so I have been called. I have brought with me the soldiers and horses of my patron saint to this house. The bowl of beeswax, the bamboo frame, five bowls

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(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt. There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Behind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After inviting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original position and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the incantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5



712 are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7]

788 765 There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home.

224 Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time.

463 It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese.

462 Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house.

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7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, [illegible]

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754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包, are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

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765 descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao a'gi or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

769 At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做齋 and in Ch'uan Miao a vang. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

775 After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Ntsɔ. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's fiat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

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There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe cal' d Hmoɔ Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmoɔ Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply.

Later, after an indefinite period there is a ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超薦, and in Chuan Miao tsa moɔ. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province.

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called mo, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper.

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

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765 belief that they are transformed by burning into a real coffin, clothes and money that can be used by the dead person. This local variation is evidently due to the influence of Chinese burial customs.

Another memorial ceremony is called *hua t'an* in Chinese and a gi bang or a gei bang in Ch'uan Miao. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by friends and relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years and lasts from one day and one night to three days and three nights.

A bull is killed and its hide may be used to cover the ceremonial drum. If the old drum has been broken, a new one is made and the skin of the bull used to cover it.[15] Friends with the same family name come, each man bringing with him a load of wood. The water is carried by the women. Each family contributes some rice, corn, wine, money, or some other thing that is needed. The meat of the bull and the rice, corn, wine, and other edibles are offered to the ancestors after which there is a feast.

The drum is hung up on a wooden beam on which a wooden gourd is also hung. People of the same surname beat the drum, play the *liu shêng* and sing songs. Several men put on women's clothes and impersonate women. Twelve men impersonate cows, six arranged on each side. One who acts as a cow goes into the cowpen and an old person drives him out into the main room. Girls bring bowls of sweet wine for

15. The following is a brief account of the ceremony with a few notes. The drum must be made according to a certain pattern. The relatives come together and the ancestors are fiirst commemorated. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 are washed as a means of washing the faces of the ancestors. While washing the ancestors' faces, the names of the deceased ancestors for three generations are called and they are invited to be present. The wine is offered. Then the cow is washed and offered to the ancestors. Then one person leads the cow and one carries a hatchet or axe. After this the cow is struck dead with the axe. The the cow's head is cut off, the animal is skinned and the drum is covered with the skin. The hair of the skin is outside and the hairless part of the skin is inside, next to the wood. The drum is hung up and wine is sprinkled on it from someone's mouth. Then the skin is allowed to dry, after which the hair is scraped off with knives. Then more wine is sprinkled out of the mouth onto the drum and the drum is left hanging on a beam to dry. Later one person beats the drum to the accompaniment of the *liu shêng* and the man playing the *liu shêng* dances. There is rejoicing in people's hearts because of the ancestors and because there is a new ceremonial drum. They beat the drum and play the *liu shêng* with dancing all night and in the morning, after having breakfast together, they disperse. Between the times when the drum is used it is left in the home of the local headman. After the drum is used it is returned to the local headman who is given some meat. This is the outstanding ceremonial instrument of the Ch'uan Miao and is believed to be very potent.

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765 him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

[618] It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

796 There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花 树 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

## X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

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You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsɔ's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

## XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

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765 nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I found a bed and covers for you to sleep on. We will cook meat and wine and rice for you to eat and drink. If you can't eat it all you must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. xau lo xai.

When he has repeated the above, he must make offerings to all relatives who have previously died, within three generations, including his own children, and call them all by name in succession, as described elsewhere.

## XII. THE OFFERING IN THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY. (THE ROOSTER IS OFFERED ALIVE, THEN KILLED, FEATHERS REMOVED, THE MEAT COOKED, THEN CUT UP AND BROUGHT BACK AND OFFERED AGAIN)

You have deceived the demons, coming the 13th. day (counting the day of burial as one day) instead of the 12th. (so the demons could not come along). You have come back to find a bed to sleep in. I have prepared nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I will also give you meat (of a rooster) to eat, and rice. If you can not eat it all up, do not give it to a demon of sickness to eat, or to a demon that causes death. You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and get near to their clothing (the demons of the grandparents of the groom). If the Lolo are numerous there, the grandfather (of the groom) will look after them for you. If the Chinese are numerous, he will also look after them for you.

When this point is reached, the ancestors for three generations are called by name and invited to eat as previously.

## XIII. OFFERING RICE AND WINE AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY

You have deceived the demons by saying this festival is on the 12th. day when it is on the 13th. You came back to find a bed. I am going to prepare nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. Now your meat is cooked. You are going to eat meat and rice. If you cannot eat it all do not give it to the demons that cause sickness or to the demons that cause death. You should give it to your female and male ancestors of three generations and offer it to all, old and young. When you have finished eating, you must go and stay near to your (husband's, if the deceased is the wife, his own if it is the husband) grandmother's clothing and near your (same as above) grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo get, your grandmother and your grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get, your grandparents will look after you.

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After this, the offerings are made. All the dead ancestors for three generations will be called by name and invited to eat as described before.

## XIV. AFTER THE OFFERINGS HAVE BEEN MADE, THE SOUL OF THE DEAD IS SENT BACK TO HIS ABODE

You deceived the demons by pretending that the day for returning was the 12th. when it was the 13th. We gave you nine cups of wine to drink nine times and you have drunk it all up. Now you are dead. Human beings think of their homes and dead people think of their graves. We are sending (releasing) you back to the place you have gotten, to the grave which you have gotten, to go back to the place where your grave is.

When the leader of the ceremony has reached this place, he throws the bamboo divining sticks down on the ground. If right, the ceremony is finished. If wrong, the ceremony is repeated until things are right.

## XV. THE OFFERINGS AT THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY

At the side of the house we welcome the soul of the dead. We make a bed and prepare nine cups of wine nine times for the dead person to drink, before we entice him to enter. When we repeat this once, it may count as three times. If it is repeated three times, it reckons as nine times. The uncle comes and carries the soul in a flat round bamboo basket. When he carries it to the parlor, those who play the *liu shêng* go in front and the filial children come in the rear with the soul. He carries it here and goes to the flowery shrine. He also will give you nine cups of wine for you to drink. When you have drunk, we will give you a bed. We will also boil meat and rice for you to eat and drink. When you have eaten and drunk, your children and grandchildren will change to birds and return to the forest. They will change to fish near water. We will change your *bo gi* (a sifter or container). Your body will be light. You ʒɛ mʌn, I poured out nine times, nine cups of wine for you to drink. If you cannot drink it all, then you must not give it to demons of illness, or the demons of death. You must give it to the three generations of grandmothers and grandfathers. If the Lolo get near you the grandmother and grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get you, they will look after you.

When this point has been reached, then the offerings are made and the three generations of ancestors are called as described elsewhere.

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## XVI. A PART OF THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY FOLLOWING SECTION XV

Oh deceased person, the loft falls down and crushes the (lower part of the) house. The house falls down and crushes the loft. This year your soul comes back and unravels the mat. The three souls and seven *p'o* unravel the sewing basket (round and shallow, made of bamboo). Your soul has been dead one year. Your aged soul has fallen for a year. This year your aged soul has come back to loosen (take apart) the sewing basket. The souls have come back to remove money (because of sins). We are performing your memorial *tso chai* ceremony, to cause your body to be light. When you go back, then you will be near the female and male ancestors for three generations.

## XVII. SENDING THE SOUL OF THE DEAD ANCESTOR AWAY AT THE END OF THE TSO CHAI MEMORIAL CEREMONY

Vaɔ killed his sheep. Vaɔ (the master of the ceremonies) is worshipping his demon (the souls of his dead ancestors). Vaɔ killed his pig. Vaɔ is worshipping his ancestors. Vaɔ killed his cow. Vaɔ entertains his guests. (The same word is used for entertain and worship). We can worship our ancestors but we cannot perform the ceremony of sending them away (at this time because a priest or mo must do it). To-day Vaɔ is to perform the ceremonies. He will escort the dead soul to the bank of the river. Vaɔ picked up a big stone. Vaɔ escorted the soul to the bend before. Vaɔ picked up a big *su ma* biscuit. Vaɔ escorted the soul to the lower pass. Vaɔ picked up a big bamboo key. Vaɔ escorted him to another lower pass. Vaɔ picked up a brass key. Vaɔ escorted him as far as the big flat below. Vaɔ picked up a big silver bracelet. Vaɔ escorted the soul below. Vaɔ picked up a big golden bracelet. Vaɔ escorted the soul to the place where the sun rises. Vaɔ escorted the soul of the dead person to the place where he could live together with the soul of his grandparents. Vaɔ escorted him up to the sister sun. Vaɔ then saw the soul of the dead with his ancestors sitting in one place. Then Vaɔ returned home. He came to the home of those where the ceremony is being performed. He saw that their front door was closed. Vaɔ has escorted the dead ancestor's soul away and when he came back he brought the silver bracelet. The silver bracelet is as thick as your finger. He brought a golden bracelet as big around as your hand. He came to the door of the family and saw that the front door is closed. Vaɔ took the bamboo key and opened it. Will you open it? If you will open your front door the gold and

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765 silver will come. It will come inside the house and fill it up. It has filled the big parlor. It has filled the middle hall and also the two sides.

(He opens the front door and enters and the ceremony is ended).

## XVIII. CHANGING THE GRAVE. (REPEATED BY THE MO-, WHO ALONE MAY DO IT)

(In your grave) you find it hard to live and cannot sleep so you have come and want your descendants to rescue you and furnish another dwelling (grave). They have prepared clothing and a coffin and they will again pray you peacefully (so you will enjoy peace). Your descendants will also prepare for you a new house with a loft and a tile roof. You will sleep at the end of heaven. The descendants will prepare a grave for you to rescue you from the unpleasant grave into a pleasant one (by cleaning the bones, giving a new coffin, etc.). To-day you have received a very good house (coffin). You are the right size and height (for clothes and coffin). You must live nicely in there and not again want the descendants to have sickness or pain.

(The mo-[5] repeats the above and actually cleans the bones, redresses the corpse, puts it in the coffin, etc. Wine is used to wash the bones. The bones are properly placed in the clothing in the same order as when living.)

## XIX. THE CEREMONY OF MAKING THE TSO CHAI OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD

The head of the family has a manager and prepares a pipeful of tabacco for the manager who has come from the outside. The manager from the outside invited by the guests says,

"Yi" he says (the dead person), "I have released field insects (men) to control the long roads. I have released house insects (men from homes) to control the straight roads. I have released a year demon to roll into your house (a living man of one year). I have released a home insect to roll into your house. Your family has set out a big table for the large insect (manager) to sit in and have given him a pipeful of tobacco to smoke. You have arranged a stool for the manager to sit on and prepared a meal for him to eat," (The manager invited by the family itself.)

The manager called by the family says, "You have invited the big insect to come (the manager secured by the guests) to go by the long road. You have released the great insect (manager) to go on the straight road. You have released the big insect to roll into this house. The

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in your home (people of the house) have rolled (come quickly) to our room here. We haven't a big table for the great insect to sit by. We haven't a pipeful of tobacco for the big insect to smoke or a stool for him to sit on or a meal for him to eat."

The manager secured by the guests says, "I do not know whether the great insect (the manager secured by the family) has arrived or not. We run here and look. With hands empty we come (humble). When I have arrived, he lets his hands hang down. When we come, you take a *liu shêng* and place it in your home. What affair is it?"

Then the manager for the family says, "You come and look. We will place the *liu shêng* in your house. The demon (ceremonial) drum resounds in the house. The dead ancestor has come back to take off the straw mat. (It is believed that at death a man ties one on himself to sleep in. Now it is removed so he can be more comfortable). It is the dead ancestor who has come back to take off the winnowing basket (*bo chi*). When this has been done and the old person's body is made lighter, then he (the dead ancestor) goes to see his ancestors as though the weather were very good."

Then the manager for the guests says, "I., his parent's soul has come back to remove the straw mat. His old parent's soul has come back to remove the winnowing basket, then we have run here to look. In our hands there is nothing to bring. If a person had, he would bring it and fill up a big room. Whether it is nine jars full of wine or ten jars of wine, they would bring it and fill up a big part of a room. Well, we have come empty-handed. I have said that I have to worship the demons and it is to worship the demon. People can speak. People can walk around the mountain and encircle the water and speak. I am not efficient in speaking. I point with my finger and speak. Others are efficient in speaking. They speak rapidly like the rolling of peaches and pears. I am not an able speaker. I will point with my finger at the basket for carrying things on my back and speak. Now, there is a peck of wheat, a roll of spirit money, a peck of corn, a peck of beans, ten buckets full of fiery wine, a bunch of incense and a pair of candles (given by guests to the family)."

The manager of the family says, "I., We are unwilling to accept them but probably will do so. If we do not accept them we fear you will say that we are not efficient in accepting and will say that when others come, we will accept but when you come, we will not accept. I., Probably we will accept and place them in the cesspool of the pig-pen and there will be a noise, then they cannot be seen. I am afraid that I will secretly take them away and cannot return them."

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The manager chosen by the guests says, "When we come we will tread on the green grass. When we go back we will tread on tall reeds. We have come to be good friends. We are not saying that our gifts are sufficient to secure good will. It is finished. Please sit down. A, please the able ones of the family who can play the *liu shêng* and beat the drum for the dead ancestor to use when he goes and stays near his female and male ancestors for three generations and in Ntsə's flat ground." 765.

## D. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHÊNG TS'AI 熊正才, NOW DECEASED, OF WANG WU CHAI, WHO WAS OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS A SIMPLE FARMER WHO WAS SATURATED WITH THE CUSTOMS AND IDEALS OF HIS PEOPLE AND WAS SAID TO KNOW OVER A THOUSAND FOLK-SONGS.

### I. THE G'A GEI OPENS THE WAY FOR THE DEPARTED SOUL TO ITS FUTURE ABODE 764

In the g'a gei's hands he carries a rooster. On his back he carries a bow. At his side he wears a beheading knife.

He stands beside the dead person's coffin on the west. In his hand he holds a pair of divining sticks (made of two halves of a bamboo sprout). He then repeats the following formulae.

Three times he calls out the name of the dead person saying, "Arise, arise, arise." As he calls he takes hold of the dead person's hand and pulls as though to lift the dead person up. Then he says:—

A. "I have called you three times and you are unable to reply. I pulled three times but you are unable to rise. You cannot live as a man and so you must live as a demon. Your head is bent down toward ʒaɔ nTo$^{\cdot 2}$ na$^{\cdot 6}$ Ti$^{\cdot 5}$ (soul demon sky big hand earth). You wear the sky like a hat above your head and your head leads towards gla ɔ To· na·ntgaɔ (the land of dead souls or demons). I will give you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. If you cannot drink it all do not give it to demons that cause sickness for them to drink. If you cannot drink it give it to the dead demons (demons of dead persons to drink. You give it to your ancestors for three generations. xAu$^{6}$ lo$^{\cdot 2}$ xʌ ·ɛn (Drink some)."

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5



engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's husband. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage. 000 837 583

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. 755 753 165

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper. 769

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise. 775 764

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat. 764

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial 765

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5



765 drum and the coffin to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu sheng*. They exert so much strength that often some of the dancers are pushed over, furniture is smashed, and the walls of the room or house are broken. One story says that in this dance the house was pushed down and everything inside was smashed.

When the coffin is about to be carried out of the house for burial, the priest stands across the doorsill and shoots three arrows inside and three outside the house. This is to drive away demons that might cause any sort of a disaster.

765 775 Twelve days after the funeral there is performed a ceremony called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao *a si* or *a shi*. The ceremonial drum is not beaten, the bull is not killed, and there is no music of the *liu sheng*. At this time the spirit of the deceased person is believed to return to his old home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door, and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. It is believed that the footprints will reveal whether the ancestor is now a person, an animal, a reptile, or a fowl.

Not less than one year later there is held a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *tso chai* and in Ch'uan Miao *a vang*. Friends and relatives observe the ceremony in the house or march to the grave beating the ceremonial drum and gongs and playing the *liu sheng* to entice the soul of the dead back home. A cow, a water buffalo, or a pig is killed and offered to the deceased ancestors; it is then cooked and eaten by the relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers and sisters and for ancestors for three generations.

It is believed that after death a woman carries a grass mat on her back, and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket such as is commonly used in West China. These prevent the souls from entering the palace of the level land of Ntzī. In the *tso chai* or *a vang* ceremony the ancestors are released from these burdens and go happily to God's flat land where they are able to enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

Later, generally after several years, there is a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* and in Ch'uan Miao *tsa mong*. The grave is opened, the coffin is burned or thrown away, and the bones are washed with wine and then rubbed with oil. A new coffin and new clothing are provided, and the corpse is reburied in the same or another grave. During this ceremony the drum and the *liu sheng* are used, a cow, water buffalo, or pig is killed, and there is a feast. It is believed that the deceased person becomes very uncomfortable lying in the same position for a long time; also, if the ceremony is not performed, the descendants will not prosper. After the ceremony the ancestor is comfortable and happy, and the descendants will prosper.

765 There is another memorial ceremony called in Chinese *hua t'an*, or flowery altar, and in Ch'uan Miao *a gi bang* or *a gei bang*. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by all the relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years. A bull is killed, and his hide may be used to cover a ceremonial drum. The meat of the bull and rice, corn, wine, and vegetables are offered to the ancestors, after which there is a feast. The drum is beaten, the *liu sheng* and the flute are played, and there is dancing and singing. Twelve men

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/954 AE5 Miao AE5



impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

## RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzɔ³ Ti·⁵ lAu² gAu² bi⁵). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

[25 cont.]

784 coffins are borne by sixteen persons and the smaller ones, by eight. The son-in-law of the deceased leads the funeral procession with a lighted bark of fir tree, followed by the daughter-in-law, carrying on her back three sheng of grains in a basket. There are drummers, liu sheng players, and men who fire rifles and firecrackers. On such a solemn occasion, of course, the priest is not missing. Wielding a dagger in his left hand and holding an empty water bucket in his right, he walks along, abandoning the bucket as soon as he passes the village gate. As he moves along he swings the dagger and mumbles magic phrases. The coffin is followed by family members and friends and relatives, the latter each sending a package of glutinous rice to be taken along it is said, by the deceased to the nether world for distribution among those kinsmen already gone before. After burial the bereaved family mixes all the rice together and distributes it among the guests, the family itself being forbidden to eat this rice. When the burial ceremony is completed they return to the bereaved family, where they set up the spirit tablet for the deceased. The priest lays his dagger on the left of the tablet. At that time, the bereaved family has to provide wine and meat to feed the guests and after the meal they take their leave. For his three days of performance the priest re-
[465] ceives as reward a basketful of glutinous rice, a pig's heart, a pig's stomach and a jug of wine.

Three days after burial, the family of the deceased returns
●765 to the tomb to offer sacrifices known as "fu-shan" [going back to the mountain]. The spirit tablet in the house has to be guarded by the elder son for about a month in the case of either deceased parent. During this month he is not supposed to cross the threshold or a bridge, nor to step into a puddle of water, nor to sing songs, nor to eat bamboo or bracken. After the period of spirit-guarding is over, the family has to send a package of glutinous rice of about two or three sheng and a cock to the house of the maternal uncle. Within three years after the burial regular sacrifices must be made at the tomb at every spring festival (twenty-five days after the beginning of spring) [in early March], after which "kua ch'ing" [hanging the green] [26] at Ch'ing-ming time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

[153 cont.]
291 slipper with wide linen leg. In winter the well-to-do "Méo" wear a padded jacket and a sort of padded loincloth.

[302] The "Méo" shave the hair about their heads for a width of from three or four centimeters; the remaining hair, braided or not, is confined in a turban. Besides, it is not rare to meet a bare-headed "Méo."

[301] Many "Méo" men wear jewelry: rings, bracelets, or neck-laces of silver, copper, or sometimes of iron.

[765] Mourning is indicated by the wearing of a white turban. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42.)

The costume of the "Méo" women shows rather remarkable peculiarities in the various tribes. They even exceed, among the "Peu-Méo," the costume of the "Man-ta-pan" in magnificence of embroidery and liveliness of colors.

Except among the "Méo-moung-cha," the cut of the feminine garments is almost uniform, as much for the working clothes as for the ceremonial costumes.

The "Peu-méo" women, whom the French commonly call "Méotes with the sailor collar" wear a working costume made up of the following pieces (photo 103, Plate 39).

A white bodice, full, and reaching down to the waist, where it is held in with the skirt by a wide belt. This bodice is folded over very low in front, leaving a considerable portion of the breast visible and giving the entire garment the appearance of a very low cut sailor's collar. This collar, as well as the lower part of the sleeves, is bordered with a band of colored material, of variable width (blue or red).

A white skirt, reaching down to just above the calf, and held in at the waist by the belt referred to above. This skirt, which is very wide, is of the "plissé-soleil" type. While walking, during [481] which the "Méo" women swing their hips very markedly, the pleats of the skirt gather now on the right, now on the left, following the movements of legs and torso.

An apron, in blue linen, simply fastened about the waist by a [154] cord. A rather voluminous turban of blue linen, but with an outside turn often made up of a band of material in white and blue squares.

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince 771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The ancestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper, 769 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a 778 small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the 776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which 773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al- 776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/118 cont./
765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.
764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; moreover, a coffin is not always used. [789] In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In [767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 775 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [522] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.

765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

/213 cont./
123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.
[167] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
[262] member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[834] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
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1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the